624 the Parpattikāran to be present on the occasion of the Kannikattu (pregnancy) ceremony.

291 A quarter of a century ago, a Badaga could be at once picked out from the other tribes of the Nīlgiris by 000 his wearing a turban. But, in the present advanced age, not only does the Toda sometimes appear in the national head-dress, but even Irulas and Kurumbas, who only a short time ago were buried in the jungles, living like pigs and bears on roots, honey and other forest produce, turn up on Sundays in the Kotagiri bazar, clad in 291 turban and coat of English cut. And, as the less civilised tribes don the turban, so the college student abandons this picturesque form of head-gear in favour of the less becoming and less washable porkpie cap, while the Badaga men and youths glory in a knitted night-cap of flaring red or orange hue. The body of the Badaga man is covered by a long body-cloth, sometimes with red and blue stripes, wrapped "so loosely that, as a man works in the fields, he is obliged to stop between every few strokes of his hoe, to gather up his cloth, and throw 301 one end over his shoulder." Male adornment is limited to gold ear-rings of a special pattern made by Kotas or goldsmiths, a silver waist-thread, silver bangle on the 291 wrist, and silver, copper, or brass rings. The women wear a white body-cloth, a white under-cloth tied round the chest, tightly wrapped square across the breasts, and reaching to the knees, and a white cloth worn like a cap • 304 on the head. As types of female jewelry and tattooing, the following examples may be cited :—

1. Tattooed on forehead with dashes, circles and crescent; spot on chin; double row of dots on each upper arm over deltoid; and devices and double row of 301 dots on right forearm. Gold ornament in left nostril. Necklets of glass beads and silver links with four-anna

301 piece pendent. Silver armlet above right elbow. Four copper armlets above left elbow. Four silver and seven composition bangles on left forearm. Two silver rings on right ring-finger; two steel rings on left ring-finger.

• 304 2. Tattooed on forehead; quadruple row of dots over right deltoid; star on right forearm.

3. Tattooed like the preceding on forehead and upper arm. Spot on chin; elaborate device on right forearm; rayed star or sun on back of hand.

4. Tattooed like the preceding on forehead and arm. Triple row of dots on back and front of left wrist, and double row of dots, with circle surrounded by dots, across chest.

[301] [614] Toreya women are only allowed to wear bangles on the wrist.

The tattoo marks on the foreheads of Udayar women consist of a crescent and dot, and they have a straight line tattooed at the outer corners of the eyes. Women of the other sub-divisions have on the forehead two circles with two vertical dashes between them, and a horizontal or crescentic dash below. The circles are made by pricking in the pigment over an impression made with a finger ring, or over a black mark made by means of such a ring. The operation is performed either by a Badaga [824] or Korava woman. The former uses as needles the spines of *Carissa spinarum*, and a mixture of finely powdered charcoal or lamp-black mixed with rice gruel The marks on the forehead are made when a girl is about eight or nine years old, and do not, as stated by Mr. Natesa Sastri, proclaim to the whole Badaga world that a girl is of marriageable age.

142 In colour the Badagas are lighter than the other hill tribes, and the comparative pallor of the skin is specially noticeable in the females, whom, with very few excep-

1; Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

142 tions, I was only able to study by surreptitious examination, when we met on the roads. In physique, the typical Badaga man is below middle height, smooth-skinned, of slender build, with narrow chest and shoulders.

• 304 (856) Badaga men have cicatrices on the shoulder and forearm as the result of branding with a fire-stick when they are lads, with the object, it is said, of giving strength, 000 and preventing pain when milking or churning. In like manner, the Todas have raised cicatrices (keloids) on the shoulder produced by branding with a fire-stick. They believe that the branding enables them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease.

551 The Badagas have a very extensive repertoire of hora hesaru, or nicknames, of which the following are examples:—

One who eats in bed during the night.	Bad-tempered.
Snorer.	Left-handed.
Stupid.	Buffalo grazer.
Bald head.	Saliva dribbling.
Brown-eyed.	Honey-eater.
Thin and bony.	Black Spleen.
Big head.	Teeth.
Bandy-legged.	Potato-eater.
One who returned alive from the burning ground.	Glutton.
Ripe fruit.	Belly.
Big-thighed.	Itch-legged.
Blind.	One who was slow in learning to walk.
Lame.	Tall.
Big calves.	Thief-eyed.
Piles.	Pustule-bodied.
Liar.	Scarred.
Cat-eyed.	Hairy.
Fond of pot-herbs	Weak, like partially baked pots.
Rheumatic.	Strong, like portland cement.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

teenth century because they were being pursued by Muslim soldiers who wanted to marry Badaga girls (some of whom were unusually fair and attractive). To avoid such a dishonour befalling a Hindu family these refugees adopted a style of feminine dress that was seemingly copied from that of the low-status Kota tribe, and also tattooed the woman's brow (Benbow 1930: 1-3; Karl 1945: 1; Kariabettan 1958: 6). This was not the only change in costume to be stimulated by the Muslims, however; it is said of Tippu Sultan that, "seeing a Lingayat woman selling curds in the streets without a body-cloth, he ordered the cutting off of her breasts. As a result of which act the wearing of long garments came into use among the whole female population of Mysore" (Thurston 1903:191). Word of this change in fashion, and of the fanatic prudery of Tippu, undoubtedly reached the Badagas (some 10 per cent of whom were Lingayats too). Yet they may have begun covering the breasts even before this gruesome event, simply on account of the cold weather at 5,000-8,000 feet.

2.15. For at least the past two centuries the dress of Badaga women has consisted essentially of three cloths. One is a triangular head-cloth tied across the brow and behind the ears, and falling down behind over the hair and neck. It is worn by all married women. A second cloth is a loincloth folded over double, wrapped around the waist and falling to a few inches below the knees. Their dress is completed with the third cloth, half the size of the loincloth, which passes over the breasts but under the arms, and reaches to the waist: this cloth is kept in position by two red bands, two inches wide, one (*odekaṇṇi* or *sate*) passing over the upper chest and under the arms, the other (*puka:su*) going round the waist. Both are tied tightly, leaving the shoulders bare and creating a baggy effect in front below the bosom. One scurrilous folktale of the Todas has it that the Badagas are descended from a marriage with a female black langur, and that their women therefore have to carry a supply of leaves under these baggy upper cloths for their food supply! The cloths are nowadays of white cotton, although one occasionally sees a sky-blue head-dress, and 40 years ago red ones were in fashion. A woman's adornment is traditionally complete if she has a small tattoo in the middle of her brow, a gold ring in one nostril, a pair of large gold earrings, and a gold chain round the neck to indicate her married status. Heavy brass bangles formerly adorned the upper arm, while bracelets and toerings of silver are still common (Ward

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

till morning but must be completed at every house, no matter how late the hour. If necessary the girl must even knock on doors and waken people. Everyone should bless her, as her own mother has already done, with a formula wishing her: "May you, my darling, soon receive a husband, bring forth a son, build your own house and live happy" (Natesa Sastri 1892: 761; Francis 1908: 131). From this time onward the girl is really a full-fledged member of the village community. There is a rule, no longer followed, that she should now bow down to any visitor from another hamlet, whether a man or woman. More importantly she is now recognized as being ready for marriage. Traditionally her forehead would be tattooed a few days later, leaving a visible sign of her marriageability (Natesa Sastri 1892: 760; Francis 1908: 131).

3.13. The menstrual hut (*holagudi*—"pollution place") was an important institution in the lives of adult women. They were customarily secluded there for a period of five to seven days (Thurston 1909: 103; "Miles" 1933: 74). If a woman discovered her condition before washing in the morning, that day would be considered the *third* of seven days of pollution. To be more exact: in calculating those days, the second day of observable menstruation is counted as the third; but if the onset is noticed before sunrise then that same day is already counted as the nominal third day. This habit of mind is expressed in the proverb: "If dying today, it will be three days by tomorrow." Thus the entire menstrual period would cover five or six days, and not seven as informants may assert. It was the custom that on the real third day of her five secluded days a woman would bathe in cold water using bark of pellitory as soap. On the fourth day she was to repeat this bath, but could then put on a change of clothing, leave the hut, and spend part of the night on her own veranda. After cooking and eating her evening meal there she would bathe again and could then enter the outer, less sacred room of the house. Early next morning the spot where she slept was cleaned, and the woman bathed in the stream. Then she would return home, eat her meals in the outer room, and remain there until next morning, the sixth actual day, when the pollution period would terminate. During the entire period no one may touch a menstruating woman. Should a child nonetheless do so he must be washed to remove the pollution before he comes into contact with anyone else.

It was customary for women to use a kind of sanitary pad in the menstrual hut, made out of shredded bark and leaves ("Miles"

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

343 amorous affairs. If a man wanted a particular girl he would note
841 when she went to the menstrual hut, and would then persuade a
837 female friend to stay in the hut with her and turn her fancy away from her husband and towards this unannounced suitor. A girl's parents or husband would therefore keep a careful watch on who else was in the hut. In a small hamlet, on the other hand, the female
343 population might be so little that a woman would often find herself
84[alone in the hut. In that case she would be afraid to sleep there by
754 herself for fear of Kurumba sorcerers and ghosts. (This fear ran coun-
775 ter to the Badaga belief that Kurumbas themselves were afraid of menstruating women, and hence would never enter the hut and secretly ravish or attack any menstruating woman through sorcery.) Because of this fear, a woman who was alone in the hut would persuade another who was due to menstruate in the next few days to tell her family the period had already begun, so that the two could sleep together in the hut. This ruse would not allow the second woman to spend extra time in the hut however, and she might well continue to menstruate after leaving it, but would keep the matter
841 secret. Sometimes a woman would be already pregnant when she
843 entered the hut for such purely social reasons. Since the number of weeks until she came to term might be calculated from the last
343 day a woman was in the hut, it therefore could happen that she gave birth in what seemed to be the eighth month of pregnancy.

841 When a group of women were together in the menstrual hut they
517 could engage in a number of interesting activities. The only work they were permitted to do was to gather firewood for use there, prepare their own food, and wash their clothes (at a place separate from
[304] the usual spot). It was generally while in the hut that an adolescent girl underwent tattooing. The only game the women played was
[524] "eye-bean," an ancient Old World game which involved the redistribution of beans in a series of a dozen depressions. In general girls were not allowed to play this until they had their first pregnancy, but younger girls did play it too while in the menstrual hut.

841 Cooking vessels kept in the hut were common to the whole village,
415 and were in constant use. There was no need to destroy or even purify them after use, since everyone involved with them was in a state
264 of pollution. Foodstuffs could be given to the women by their rela-
[783] tives, but it was taboo to give them cooked foods. No pot, basket or cloth would be taken to the hut with food, since it could not be taken back home afterwards. Thus when a woman in the hut was

4; Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Thurston (1909). We will simply offer a listing of what the ceremonies are, in chronological order, and will also describe those nonceremonial childhood events which alter the surface of the human body in some way, and hence are of some relevance to an account of Badaga health and illness.

(*a*) *Birth*. The only ceremonial aspect at delivery is a magical act to ward off any evil influence. It is described in detail above (4.11).

(*b*) *Naming*. This important ceremony makes the child into a social being, and must be performed before the fortieth day of life. Should it die before the ceremony the child's corpse is buried without a formal funeral (Jagor 1876: 199; Thurston 1909: 110).

(*c*) *Head Shaving*. This is usually combined with the ear boring, and should occur within about a year of the child's birth, but after the naming ceremony. The shaving is now done with a razor but formerly used a fragment of bottle glass (Thurston 1909: 110). Children should have a second complete shave at any time from two weeks to a year afterwards, but with no further ceremony, before their hair is allowed to grow long.

(*d*) *Ear Boring*. Sometimes this used to be combined with the naming ceremony (Jagor 1876: 199), but otherwise it occurs during a child's first year. It should follow the shaving. An earring is simply touched to the child's ear, but several years later the lobes will be punctured without any further ceremony, using the point of an earring for this (Rhiem 1900: 503).

(*e*) *First Tooth Ceremony*. Generally all babies get their lower teeth first, but in the case of a boy there will be a small ceremony if he gets teeth in the *upper* jaw first.

(*f*) *School*. There is no ceremony for when a child starts school, but the parents select an auspicious day for this and distribute sweets to the new classmates.

(*g*) *Nostril Piercing*. This is done in a girl's ninth, eleventh or thirteenth year on an auspicious day, but without any ceremony. In earlier times it was essential for a girl to have a nose-ring before she got married. Since about 1955 the practice has stopped altogether, and before that it was often combined with a girl's tattooing.

(*h*) *Tattooing*. Today the tattooing of girls is going out of fashion, and few of the younger women are so marked. A century ago however all women were tattooed on the forehead, and Jagor illustrates

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

half-a-dozen of the common patterns (1876: 195). These designs, made up of dots, dashes, crescents and circles, were also to be seen on the shoulders of some women, and the forearm and back of the hand were commonly tattooed as well. Although it was obligatory it was never an occasion for ceremony. The technique calls for an older woman, Badaga or otherwise, to etch the pattern on the skin with a thorn from one of two plants, the common Nilgiri barberry or the Bengal currant. Pins and needles are used now. The pigment used is finely powdered charcoal from the bottom of a pot, or else lamp black, mixed with rice gruel (Thurston 1909: 82). Afterwards an oil is put on to the wounds. Rhiem (1900: 504) adds that a silver finger-ring is plunged into a corrosive black liquid and then pressed against tattoo wounds. Shoulder, wrist and hand tattoos may be added later, even after marriage, while a woman is in the menstrual hut. Men are never present for a tattooing.

(*i*) *Milking Initiation.* Nothing ceremonial happens to a boy between his naming and head shaving in infancy, and the initiation into adult work between the ages of seven and nine. This involves his ceremonial milking of a buffalo (Natesa Sastri 1892: 757-58; Francis 1908: 131; Thurston 1909: 87-88; "Miles" 1933: 73).

(*j*) *Lingayat Initiation.* Boys of the several Lingayat clans, including the Wodeya phratry, undergo a ceremony of investiture of the *linga* at about their 13th year. A *pu:ja* is performed and the boys learn a prayer (Natesa Sastri 1892: 758-60; Thurston 1909: 90-93). Today the ceremony, which is always to be done in an odd-numbered year of a boy's life, occurs even as early as his fifth year.

(*k*) *Puberty Rites.* Menarche is marked by complicated observations, as explained above (3.11); but for a boy's puberty there is no observance whatsoever.

Childhood Maladies

5.23. Whatever may seem to be wrong with an infant it is given no medicines until its fifth month. If necessary before then a medicine may be given to its mother, in the expectation that the child will derive a benefit from it through her milk. This is the case for example if a child is affected by a "bad wind."

In earlier days a thread with 108 knots in it

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

not dry himself, but instead sits covered with a cotton cloth under which some incense is burnt to create a thick smoke. After this a cure can be expected. During the entire course of the illness the patient must eat only the "cooling" foods such as milk and fruits, and must abstain from things like chili. Also he should use no woollen material for clothing or bedding.

Mouth, Nose and Throat

6.38. Teeth are not filed in any way nor are cavities filled. If a tooth is loose, it is pulled out with the fingers, or else an attempt is made to cure it by rubbing it with ginger. There is a proverb which warns, "The son who is spurning his father is no good; the tooth that is protruding from the lips is no good." As we have seen (5.27), a woman will try to bend a child's misshapen tooth into position with a cloth.

6.39. The major mouth disease is quickly detected because a very strong odour is noticeable even from some feet away. Although mainly a children's disease, it can affect adults. Badagas believe that "germs" eat the teeth: the disease can rot them, and a sufferer cannot put anything in his mouth because it is so painful. The mouth therefore has to be made insensitive so that he can eat. A local anaesthetic is therefore made from galls found on oak, obtained from a tree in the plains: they are over 2 cms in diameter and are ground up with woman's milk or cow's milk to form a paste, which is then rubbed all over the mouth cavity.

The medicine for *ma:dua* is made from two fruits that can now be bought in shops. One is the unripe *anila kae* and the other nutmeg; they are ground together in equal amounts and mixed with woman's milk or cow's milk or else water. This solution is taken early in the morning, before breakfast, and again before the evening meal. If

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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thing. The leathery skins of mangosteen fruit are also reported to cure dysentery when soaked in hot water which is drunk by the patient (Krishnamurthi 1953 : 145).

[164] WORMS

6.59. In adults the same symptoms may indicate difficulties with worms or with a displaced colon. In order to distinguish between the two problems, a therapist rubs some oil onto the belly, and as he does so there is a sound of liquid moving inside. If that noise continues after the rubbing, it means that worms are growing inside the belly. A treatment for a displaced colon is to tie a very cold, wet cloth on the belly in the morning. If the diarrhoea problem subsides for some time, this means it is not worms that are responsible.

Adults also suffer from worms because of eating too much sweet food. The same medicine is made for them as for children (5.36), but they are given two or three teaspoonfuls of it every morning and evening, not thrice daily, until they recover.

[164] ULCER (*hotte hunṇu*)

6.60. It is said that ulcers can be cured by swallowing the ground leaves of the dead nettle mixed with lime juice (Krishnamurthi 1953 : 145).

Genitals

• 304

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6.61. Neither the Badagas nor any of the neighbouring tribes practise circumcision or clitoridectomy. Some men have recently had vasectomies at the Government Hospital, in connection with the family planning programme.

164 VENEREAL DISEASE

Other South Indians sometimes claim there are eighteen different kinds of genital disease, but the Badagas know of only two kinds: *su:le*, which originates in women, and *belle*, which originates in men. Women cannot be troubled by *su:le*, but men suffer when they catch it from women; similarly, men are not afflicted by *belle*, but women can catch it from men. I was told that a century ago nearly all of the Badaga, Toda, Kota, Kurumba